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5 JAN 1960

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chief, Africa Division

SUBJECT:

Chinese Communist Influence in Africa

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1. Communist China's campaign of penetration in Africa, begun in 1956, has scored considerable success. Although her influence is less marked than that of the Soviet Bloc, which began its campaign in 1954, Communist China's role in Africa appears to be increasing in significance. International Communism has long emphasized the experience of the Chinese Communist Party as a guide for Communist parties in former colonial, semi-colonial, and underdeveloped countries. As Communist China increases her international influence and prestige, the regime, with or without the tacit agreement of the USSR, appears to be assuming the primary responsibility for winning over to Communism the countries and peoples of Africa, which the Communists consider an underdeveloped "colonial" area. This applies with particular force to those areas of Africa which are still under European domination. While the USSR is somewhat hampered by her diplomatic commitments to France, Communist China, with no such ties, has had a free hand in sponsoring and aiding nationalist movements, such as the Provisional Government of Algeria and the Union of Cameroonian Peoples. Communist China's recent success in obtaining recognition from newly independent countries such as Guinea, suggests that, unless something is done to counteract her influence, the Chinese Communists will succeed in establishing diplomatic relations in Africa as rapidly as the various African countries gain independent status.

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3. In the field of foreign relations Communist China's primary national objective (apart from the ideological aim of advancing the interests of

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international Communism) is to increase her standing in the international community, first by getting diplomatic recognition from individual nations, and ultimately by gaining admission to the United Nations. The Chinese Communist campaign in Africa, initiated only after the Bandung Conference of 1955 and the establishment of the Afro-Asian Solidarity front, has followed the traditional Communist pattern:

a. "People's Diplomacy": Visitors from Tunisia, Ghana, Morocco, Ethiopia, Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Uganda, Kenya, Madagascar, Guinea, and the Cameroons have been feted in Peiping; troupes of Chinese entertainers have gone on tour; Chinese Communist delegations have attended African national celebrations.

b. Trade Overtures: Chinese Communist manufactures, many of them in short supply in China, have been offered at low prices in accordance with the Communist principle that trade is a political weapon. A recent report from Liberia suggests that even the Liberian Government is not invulnerable to Chinese Communist efforts to establish trade and other representatives there.

c. Published and Broadcast Propaganda: Early in 1959 a new Chinese Communist magazine, Evergreen, designed to appeal to an Afro-Asian audience, made its appearance. Direct broadcasts from Peking to Africa, initiated in 1958, were increased in 1959 (14 hours a week in Arabic, and 2 in English) and supplement the Peiping broadcasts to Europe, which are easily heard in Africa (14 hours a week in English, 10 in French). Chinese Communist propaganda gives full accounts of Peiping rallies condemning Belgian actions in the Congo, of celebrations of "Cameroon Day," "Africa Freedom Day" and "Solidarity with Uganda Day", and of resolutions endorsing "the demand of the Nyasaland people to withdraw from the Central African Federation".

d. Aid: Communist China's gift of rice to Guinea was widely publicized; she has also given assistance to the Provisional Government of Algeria and to other nationalist movements and leaders. This is in accordance with the main theme of Chinese Communist propaganda in Africa: The sympathy that China, herself long exploited by "colonial oppression," feels for African nationalists and all peoples under European domination; it also demonstrates the alleged success of the Chinese Communist regime which, within ten years of its inception, shows itself in a position to help the less fortunate.

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3. Communist China's campaign in Africa has attained the following tangible results during the three years of its operation:

a. Diplomatic Recognition: Communist China in 1959 sent a diplomatic mission to Morocco and was preparing to send one to Guinea. Her de facto recognition by Ghana has not yet resulted in an exchange of diplomats. Her recognition of Tunisia in 1957 was not reciprocated. It has been reported that part of Ethiopia's accord with the USSR stipulated Ethiopian recognition of Communist China, but that this action has been delayed until, with the recession of the Tibetan issue from world attention, the climate of world opinion becomes more favorable.

b. New China News Agency: The official Chinese Communist news agency has established an office in Ghana which also serves Guinea, and it has a representative in Morocco. Its office in Cairo issues a propaganda bulletin directed at all of Africa.

c. Economic Relations: Communist China has trade agreements with Tunisia, Morocco, and Southern Rhodesia. In 1957 she traded (imports and exports) with Morocco, the Union of South Africa, Tanganyika, Kenya, and Uganda, and she sent exports to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the Belgian Congo, Tunisia, Ghana, French West Africa, Algeria, and Nigeria. The multiplication of Sino-Soviet Bloc trade, aid, and technical missions has been particularly marked in the independent areas of West Africa. Communist China's role in this effort has centered on Guinea where, in addition to the gift of 5,000 tons of rice, she was recently reported to be preparing to send technicians, in addition to the contemplated diplomatic staff.

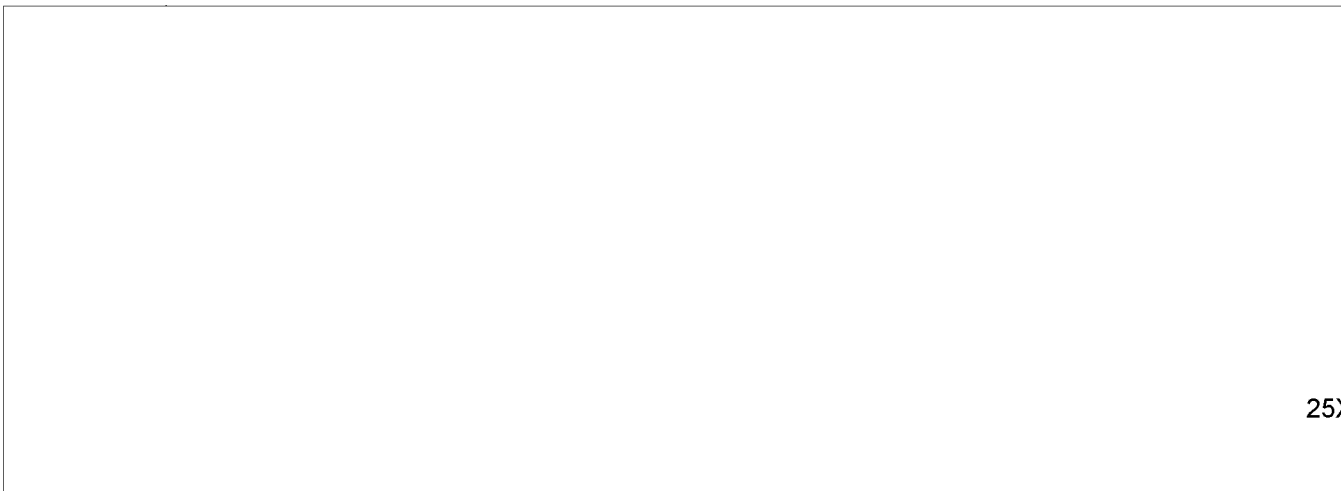
4. Communist China's penetration of Africa (apart from Egypt and the Sudan) is just beginning. Her primary effort is to establish a reputation as a successful non-European nation, "peace-loving", and ready to support nationalist movements all over the world. Should such a view prevail among African peoples, it is probable that Communist China, quick to recognize new nations, will be recognized by African countries as fast as they become independent. The paramount prestige and influence of African leaders, natural targets of people's diplomacy, is a factor that makes Communist China's task somewhat easier.

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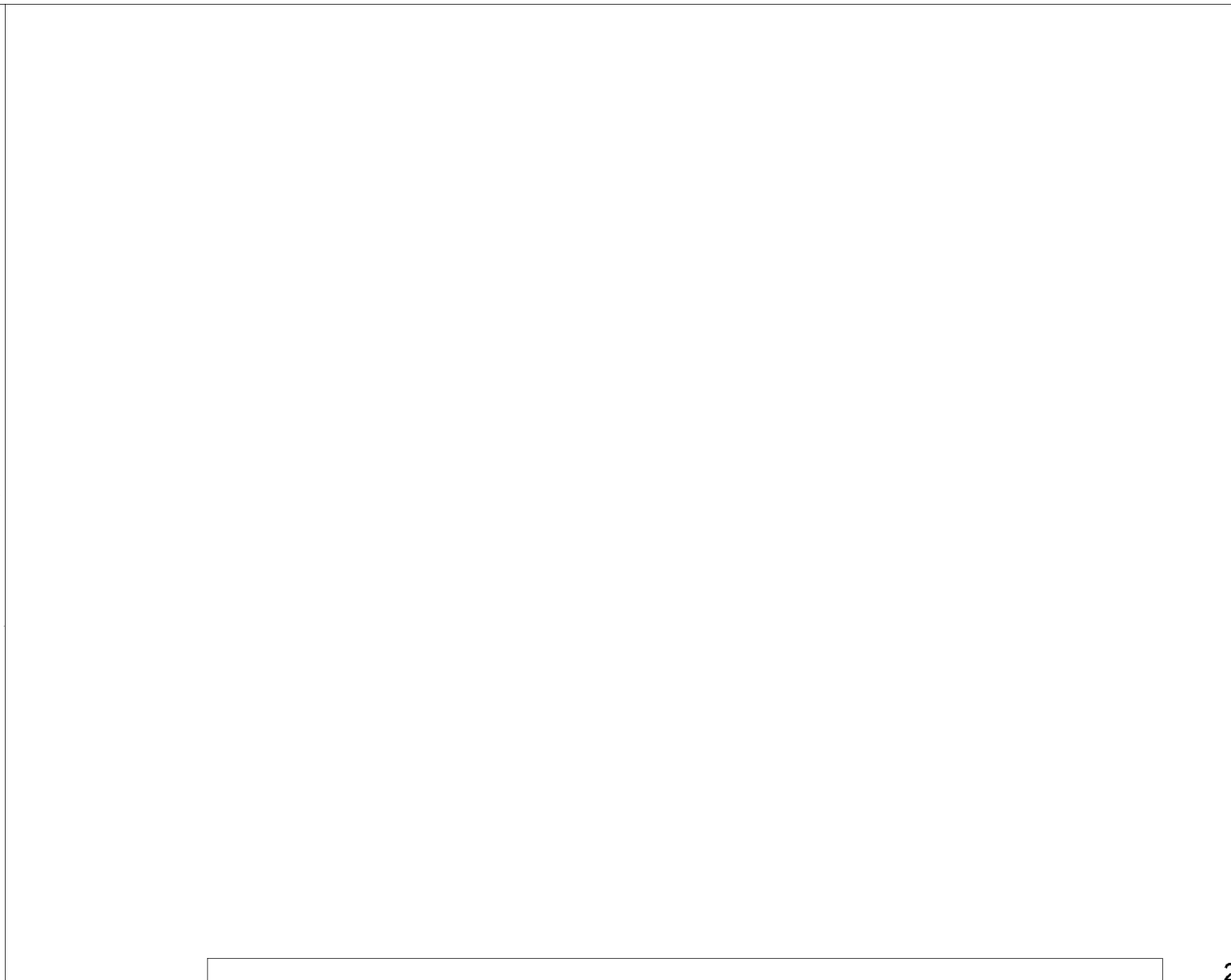
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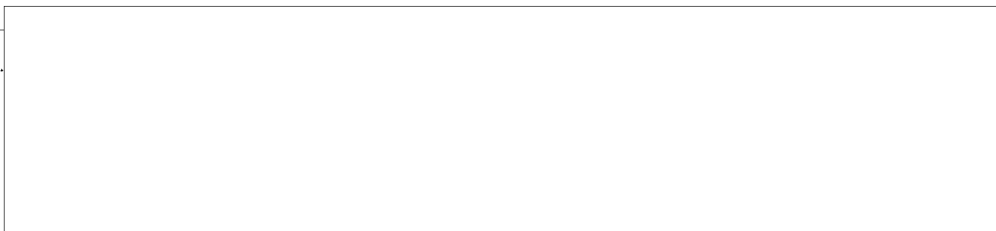
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